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THE CHINESE VIEW ON WAR AND REVOLUTION

THE EDITORS

THE PERUVIAN REVOLUTION

LUIS F. DE LA PUENTE UCEDA

VENEZUELA AND THE FALN

JAMES D. COCKCROFT AND EDUARDO VICENTE

A Guerrilla Wind

ADOLFO GILLY

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NOTES FROM THE EDITORS

The response to the annual appeal of MR Associates has been running ahead of last year, and we want to thank all of you who have helped to make this possible. At the same time, the financial crisis outlined in the appeal letter is far from overcome. May we urge all who have not yet joined the Associates to do so now and to make your contribution as large as possible? Membership begins at $15 and carries with it an automatic subscription renewal and the privilege of buying all MR Press books at 50 percent off the *list price*.

All readers, including Associates, are invited to take advantage of the annual sale of MR Press books announced on pages 32-33. We have to publish our books in small runs, which explains why we cannot set list prices lower than those of regular commercial publishers. But at this time every year we run a Xmas sale which enables readers to buy most of our books at substantial discounts—some as high as 75 percent off, which is a big saving even for Associates. And in addition to the Xmas sale we call your attention to (1) the low prepublication prices of forthcoming titles (p. 35), and (2) the extension of prepublication prices for the Xmas buying period of some recently published titles (p. 34). This is the time to stock up on books you should have in your library and to acquire worthwhile presents at reasonable cost.

(continued on inside back cover)

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WAR AND REVOLUTION

September 3rd was celebrated in China as the 20th anniversary of the victory of the Chinese People's War of Resistance against Japan. To commemorate the occasion, Lin Piao, Vice Premier, Minister of Defense, and Vice Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, published a long article entitled "Long Live the Victory of the People's War!" (English translation in *Peking Review,* September 3, pp. 9-30). This article has been widely, and no doubt correctly, interpreted as an authoritative statement of the official Chinese position on the state of the world and what can and should be done about it. Since the bourgeois press is not particularly reliable in matters affecting the socialist countries, and since not everyone has access to the text of Lin Piao's article, it seems desirable to combine a discussion of the Chinese position with a condensed summary of what the article actually says.

Lin Piao begins by stating two theses which probably few would deny: that the Chinese achieved victory in the war against Japan and subsequently against the Kuomintang reactionaries because it was a genuine people's war under inspired leadership; and that this victory "breached the imperialist front in the East, wrought a great change in the world balance of forces, and accelerated the revolutionary movement among the people of all countries." He then spells out why the Chinese believe that this experience from their recent past has the greatest importance for the world today:

> Today, the U.S. imperialists are repeating on a world-wide scale the past actions of the Japanese imperialists in China and other parts of Asia. It has become an urgent necessity of the people in many countries to master and use people's war as a weapon against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. In every conceivable way U.S. imperialism and its lackeys are trying to extinguish the revolutionary flames of people's war.

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The rest of the article follows logically from this beginning. First comes a lengthy review and analysis of the strategy and tactics of the Chinese struggle against the Japanese and the Kuomintang, and then an assessment of the relevance of this experience for the present-day struggle against United States imperialism.

Strategy and Tactics of the Chinese Struggle

Politically, the central problem faced by the Communist Party (CPC) was how to unite all classes and groups willing to resist the Japanese, without surrendering control and leadership to those who for one reason or another could not be relied upon to carry through to the end a principled struggle for genuine national independence. At this stage, as Lin Piao makes quite clear, social reform was looked upon not as an end in itself but rather as a means to mobilize the maximum possible strength against the Japanese and later against the American-backed Kuomintang. What was required was *both* a united national front—excluding only "a handful of pro-Japanese traitors among the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie"—*and at the same time* a policy within the united front of independence, initiative, and struggle against any vacillation or backsliding. The success of the Chinese Communists depended upon correctly applying this political strategy, avoiding on the one hand the error of refusing temporary alliances with potential enemies (including even anti-Japanese imperialisms), and on the other hand the error of handing over control to potential enemies. Either error could have been fatal, and it was Mao Tse-tung's genius to know how to steer the narrow course between them, not in abstract theoretical terms but in the concrete historical conditions of China in the 1930's, 1940's, and 1950's.

Militarily, the grand strategy of the CPC is summed up by Lin Piao: "To rely on the peasants, build rural base areas, and use the countryside to encircle and finally capture the cities—such was the way to victory in the Chinese Revolution."

Relying on the peasants and building rural base areas were two sides of the same coin. In Lin Piao's words:

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Building the revolutionary base areas was a grand rehearsal in preparation for nation-wide victory. In these base areas we built the Party, ran the organs of state power, built the people's armed forces, and set up mass organizations; we engaged in industry and agriculture and operated cultural, educational, and all other undertakings necessary for the independent existence of a separate region. Our base areas were in fact a state in miniature. And with the steady expansion of our work in the base areas, our Party established a powerful people's army, trained cadres for various kinds of work, accumulated experience in many fields, and built up both the material and the moral strength that provided favorable conditions for nation-wide victory.

The keystone of the arch was the people's army which had to be "of a new type" and had to apply tactics at every stage of the struggle appropriate to its nature and resources. The special characteristic of the army was that it "must first and foremost be built on a political base."

Politics is the commander, politics is the soul of everything. Political work is the lifeline of our army. True, a people's army must pay attention to the constant improvement of its weapons and equipment and its military technique, but in its fighting it does not rely purely on weapons and technique; it relies mainly on politics, on the proletarian revolutionary consciousness and courage of the commanders and fighters, on the support and backing of the masses.

Tactically, the people's army must master the art of guerrilla warfare and stick to it until conditions are ripe for a transition to mobile warfare.

Lin Piao puts much stress on the principle of "adhering to the policy of self-reliance." He recognizes that the Chinese struggle was a part of the world-wide Anti-Fascist War and that many forces contributed to the common victory. He also affirms the duty of revolutionary and progressive forces to aid and support each other in their struggles. Nevertheless:

The liberation of the masses is accomplished by the masses themselves—this is a basic principle of Marxism-Leninism. Revolution or people's war in any country is the business of the masses in that country and should be carried out primarily by their own efforts; there is no other way. . . . If one does not operate by one's own efforts, does not independently ponder and solve the problems

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of the revolution in one's own country and does not rely on the strength of the masses, but leans wholly on foreign aid—even though this be aid from socialist countries which persist in revolution—no victory can be won, or be consolidated even if it is won.

The Lessons of the Chinese Experience for the World Today

Lin Piao opens this part of his article with a comparison between the Russian and Chinese Revolutions. First he emphasizes continuity and similarities:

> (1) Both were led by the working class with a Marxist-Leninist party as its nucleus. (2) Both were based on the worker-peasant alliance. (3) In both cases state power was seized through violent revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat was established. (4) In both cases the socialist system was built after victory in the revolution. (5) Both were component parts of the proletarian world revolution.

Next come differences:

> The October revolution took place in imperialist Russia, but the Chinese Revolution broke out in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. The former was a proletarian socialist revolution, while the latter developed into a socialist revolution after the complete victory of the new-democratic revolution. The October revolution began with armed uprisings in the cities and then spread to the countryside, while the Chinese Revolution won nation-wide victory through the encirclement of the cities from the rural areas and the final capture of the cities.

The point of this comparison is not immediately apparent since, having made it, Lin Piao turns his attention to more general problems of war and revolution, including the meaning of Mao's dictum that "imperialists and all reactionaries are paper tigers." And yet if we understand him correctly, the comparison is crucial to the whole Chinese position.* They are in effect saying that the world of today has given us two

* To avoid misunderstanding: we are not concerned in the present context with the extent to which the Chinese analysis agrees or disagrees with classical Marxian theory, nor do we ask whether their characterizations of the Russian and Chinese Revolutions are historically accurate. These are obviously important questions which deserve separate and detailed treatment.

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models of the revolutionary process. The first, exemplified by the Russian Revolution, applies to imperialist countries; the second, exemplified by the Chinese Revolution, applies to the colonial countries (using the term "colonial" in its broadest sense). The first type of revolution is socialist from the outset, starts in the cities and spreads to the countryside; the second aims initially at national liberation, starts in the countryside and spreads to the cities, and becomes socialist after the conquest of power.

Which of these models is relevant to the present world situation? The Chinese evidently believe that for the vast majority of mankind the second, or "Chinese," model is the only relevant one. In Lin Piao's words:

> It must be emphasized that Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of the establishment of rural revolutionary base areas and the encirclement of the cities from the countryside is of outstanding and universal practical importance for the present revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples in Asia, Africa, and Latin America against imperialism and its lackeys.
>
> Many countries and peoples in Asia, Africa, and Latin America are now being subjected to aggression and enslavement on a serious scale by the imperialists headed by the United States and their lackeys. The basic political and economic conditions in many of these countries have many similarities to those that prevailed in old China. As in China, the peasant question is extremely important in these regions. . . . The countryside, and the countryside alone, can provide the broad areas in which the revolutionaries can maneuver freely. The countryside, and the countryside alone, can provide the revolutionary bases from which the revolutionaries can go forward to final victory.

Does this mean that in the eyes of the Chinese the "Russian" model has lost all relevance? No clear answer is possible on the basis of Lin Piao's article. There is one somewhat enigmatic statement which might be interpreted as suggesting that the "Chinese" model is applicable to the entire world:

> Taking the entire globe, if North America and Western Europe can be called "the cities of the world," then Asia, Africa, and Latin America constitute "the rural areas of the world." Since

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World War II, the proletarian revolutionary movement has for various reasons been temporarily held back in the North American and West European capitalist countries, while the people's revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa, and Latin America has been growing vigorously. In a sense, the contemporary world revolution also presents a picture of the encirclement of cities by the rural areas. In the final analysis, the whole cause of world revolution hinges on the revolutionary struggle of the Asian, African, and Latin American peoples who make up the overwhelming majority of the world's population.

This passage has been gleefully pounced upon by the bourgeois press as evidence of Chinese "aggressiveness," the imputed meaning being that the Chinese want the revolutionaries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, after they conquer power in their own lands, to attack North America and Western Europe. Such an interpretation is almost certainly wrong. By comparing the advanced capitalist countries to the cities and the colonies to the rural areas, Lin Piao is using a figure of speech to stress that at the present stage of development the former are strongholds of reaction and the latter breeding grounds of revolution. But there is no justification for pushing the analogy further. The fact that Lin Piao speaks of the revolutionary movement in the advanced countries being *temporarily* held back shows that the Chinese have by no means written it off. Presumably they believe that it will come back to life again in due course and play its appointed role in overthrowing the world capitalist order. And more than likely they believe that the ever-sharpening contradictions within the imperialist countries resulting from their vain efforts to contain the revolution in the world's "rural areas" will be a decisive factor in reviving the now moribund revolutionary forces in North America and Western Europe. If this interpretation is correct, it would be perfectly consistent for the Chinese to hold that while the "Russian" model has no relevance to the *present* stage of the world revolution, it will regain its full relevance in the *final* stage of this great historical drama.

The concluding pages of Lin Piao's article are largely devoted to (1) Mao's theory of the relation between the "national-democratic" (also called "new-democratic") and socialist revolutions in the "Chinese" model, (2) the necessity

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for the colonial peoples to wage revolutionary wars and the reasons why their chances of winning are good, (3) denunciation of "Khrushchev revisionists" as "betrayers of people's war," and (4) a confident prediction that if the United States chooses to follow in Japan's footsteps by invading China, she will suffer the same fate. For the most part what is said on these themes is reasonably familiar, and we can confine comment here to a few remarks on the first of them.

What is crucially important is *not* to confuse the Maoist conception of the national-democratic revolution with the traditional theory of the bourgeois revolution against feudalism. True, both bring together very similar class coalitions: proletariat, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie, and national (anti-imperialist) bourgeoisie. But there the similarity ends. The bourgeois revolution is led by the bourgeoisie and results in the establishment (or consolidation) of capitalism. The national democratic revolution is led by workers (or a worker-peasant alliance), results in national independence, and clears the way for the immediately following socialist revolution. To quote Lin Piao:

> Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of the new-democratic revolution is the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution by stages as well as the Marxist-Leninist theory of uninterrupted revolution.
>
> Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a correct distinction between the two revolutionary stages, i.e. the national-democratic and the socialist revolutions; at the same time he correctly and closely linked the two. The national-democratic revolution is the necessary preparation for the socialist revolution, and the socialist revolution is the inevitable sequel to the national-democratic revolution. There is no Great Wall between the two revolutionary stages. But the socialist revolution is only possible after the completion of the national-democratic revolution. The more thorough the national-democratic revolution, the better the conditions for the socialist revolution.

In summary, the Chinese position, as we interpret it, is approximately as follows: The non-socialist world is divided into a handful of advanced capitalist-imperialist nations on the one hand and a large number of exploited and underdeveloped countries on the other. In the present stage of development, revolutionary forces are weak and ineffective in

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the advanced countries and are rapidly gaining strength in the underdeveloped countries. In these circumstances it is the "Chinese," not the "Russian," model of revolution which is relevant. The "Chinese" model comprises two stages: a national-democratic revolution, led by the working classes and supported by elements of the bourgeoisie; and an immediately following socialist revolution, also led by the working classes and resulting in the complete overthrow of capitalism and the beginnings of socialist construction. The tasks facing the underdeveloped countries now are to carry through the national-democratic revolution. This requires building a united front under worker leadership to fight a people's war against imperialism and its local allies. Politically, the leadership must aim to unite as large a proportion of the population as possible while carrying on an unremitting struggle against vacillation and backsliding. Militarily, people's war requires building revolutionary bases in the rural areas, forging a politically highly conscious army, employing guerrilla tactics until the relation of forces permits going over to mobile warfare, surrounding and eventually capturing the cities. The success of the Chinese revolutionaries against the Japanese and the American-backed Kuomintang proves that these tasks can be accomplished. "Victory will certainly go to the peoples of the world! Long live the victory of people's war!"

How Valid Is the Chinese Position?

We do not see how any Marxist, or for that matter any informed person with a sense of history, can fail to agree with the underlying postulates of the Chinese position. The non-socialist world *is* divided into a handful of exploiting nations and a large number of exploited colonies or semi-colonies. The United States as the leading imperialist country has announced a thousand times, beginning with the Truman Doctrine in 1947, that it means to do everything in its power to prevent any change in this situation. To this end it has built up the most formidable military machine in history and has already demonstrated—in Asia (Vietnam), in Africa (the Congo), and in Latin America (the Dominican Republic)—that it will use this machine without the slightest regard for international law,

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treaty obligations, or moral scruples. The idea, once so hopefully entertained, that economic development in the dependent countries can be successfully promoted by reforms within the existing framework plus aid from the advanced countries, can now, after two decades of bitter experience, be seen for what it is: ideological eyewash. The disparity between the advanced and backward countries grows year by year; many of the latter are losing ground absolutely as well as relatively; with world population due to double within the next half century, the continuation of present trends can only bring social and biological disaster. Clearly, the choice before the masses in the exploited countries is to starve or fight. And who can doubt that, given the inevitably increasing understanding of the potential plenty made possible by modern science and technology, the masses will sooner or later elect to fight to take control of their own destiny rather than starve to death for the benefit of others? (This is of course not to say that there is any guarantee of victory. Revolutionaries have often in the past been defeated, and doubtless will suffer many setbacks in the future too. What now seems impossible is that starving people will forever continue to bear their fate in passivity.)

Whether the revolutionary struggles of the period ahead will conform as closely to the "Chinese" model as the Chinese leaders now appear to think, is another matter. Latin American experience, the latest phase of which is dealt with in three articles in this issue of MR,* suggests that important variations are not only possible but probable. Let us attempt a tentative identification of the main points of similarity and difference.

First, the Chinese thesis that it is necessary to rely on the peasantry, build rural base areas, forge a politically conscious army, and wage guerrilla warfare, seems to be fully confirmed by recent developments in Guatemala and several of the South American countries. On the other hand, the Dominican uprising indicates that a different pattern is possible. There a split

* "A Guerrilla Wind," by Adolfo Gilly, pp. 41-45; "The Peruvian Revolution: Concepts and Perspectives," by Luis F. de la Puente Uceda, pp. 12-28; and "Venezuela and the FALN Since Leoni," by James D. Cockcroft and Eduardo Vicente, pp. 29-40.

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in the armed forces led to the arming of the people in Santo Domingo and the rapid defeat of the old apparatus of repression. But for prompt imperialist intervention, the revolution would have triumphed in the capital city and spread to the countryside, in the manner of the "Russian" model. It is of course true that imperialism cannot be treated as some sort of "outside" force; it is the main variable in the equation to be solved. And it may well be that from now on the Dominican struggle will conform to the "Chinese" pattern. Nevertheless, one can imagine that in some bigger country—Brazil, for example—a revolution beginning as the Dominican revolution began might follow a different course. A revolutionary government might be formed and the main cities brought under control *before* imperialist intervention could be organized. In that case the next stage might be a classical revolutionary war directed primarily against the foreign invader. Here the "Russian" model would be very relevant indeed.

There is no intention here, of course, to downgrade the military importance of the "Chinese" model. What has been happening in large parts of Latin America requires greater emphasis than ever on this aspect of Chinese experience. But at the same time one should not close one's mind to the possibility that the "Russian" model may also have relevance for the underdeveloped countries, or even that some combination of the "Chinese" and "Russian" models may throw more light on some situations than either by itself. Generals are always being accused of dogmatically planning the next war as though it were a mere continuation of the last; revolutionaries should not make the same mistake.

Politically, too, Latin American experience throws doubt on the universal validity of the "Chinese" model. No one questions the desirability of forming as broad a united front as possible to fight against imperialism and for national independence, but what Latin American experience does call in question is the possibility, at least in the conditions of the Western Hemisphere at the present time, of devising a program which will unite not only workers and peasants but also a significant section of the bourgeoisie. The workers and peasants have seen so many well-meaning reformers stymied and then thrown out

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by the military watchdogs of the old oligarchies that they are not likely in the future to trust any state that they do not directly control through their own people's army. But no considerable section of the bourgeoisie, especially after the experience of the Cuban Revolution, is going to support, still less fight for, the establishment of such a state. With the (very important) exception of those—mostly students and intellectuals—who are ready to throw in their lot with the workers and peasants, the Latin American bourgeoisies are not interested in any kind of a revolution: they prefer to throw in *their* lot with the imperialist defenders of the status quo. Under these circumstances, Latin American revolutionaries are finding that it is vastly preferable to rouse the morale and enthusiasm of workers and peasants by boldly proclaiming a full-fledged socialist program than to seek vainly to enlist the backing of a largely nonexistent anti-imperialist bourgeoisie. What this means is not that carrying through the national democratic revolution as a preliminary to the construction of socialism has lost any of its importance, but rather that in Latin American conditions the national democratic and socialist revolutions are apparently going to be carried out under a single unified program and in this sense are being telescoped into one.

Whether or not this is considered to be a real departure from the "Chinese" model and Mao Tse-tung's theory of revolutionary strategy is perhaps a matter of terminology. It might be more accurate simply to say that some things which were necessary and right in China in the 30's and 40's are neither necessary nor right in Latin America in the 60's: both the composition and the program of the united front have to be worked out in accordance with the specific conditions of time and place. But the aims, national independence and socialism, remain the same.

These aims are indeed universally valid in the second half of the 20th century, and by boldly holding them up and calling on the peoples of the whole world to struggle for them against any and all enemies, the Chinese do great credit to themselves and deserve the gratitude of all socialists and revolutionaries.

(October 10, 1965)

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THE PERUVIAN REVOLUTION: CONCEPTS AND PERSPECTIVES

BY LUIS F. DE LA PUENTE UCEDA

The following article by the Secretary General of the Peruvian Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) was sent to us "from one of the guerrilla encampments in the Cordillera de los Andes of Peru." MONTHLY REVIEW is proud to publish in both its English and Spanish editions this authoritative report on the background, progress, and objectives of what is potentially one of the most important of Latin American revolutionary movements. The article shows that the Peruvian Revolution is now moving along the path pioneered by the Cubans and more recently entered upon by the guerrilla movements of Guatemala, Venezuela, and Colombia. More than ever, the prospect looms up of a united Latin American Revolution fighting against imperialist domination and for a great federation of socialist states. We take this opportunity to congratulate and extend fraternal greetings to the Peruvian revolutionaries.

At the same time, it seems desirable to point out one respect in which we cannot agree with the analysis of Dr. de la Puente Uceda. Like many other commentators on Latin American affairs, he describes Peruvian society as being in part "feudal" or "semi-feudal." His analysis of the country's class structure emphasizes, however, that there are no serious conflicts between the big landowners of the countryside and the urban industrial, financial, and commercial bourgeoisie—which would hardly be the case if the former were in fact "feudal." The truth is that the big landowners of Peru, as well as of all the other countries of Latin America, however feudal-appearing may be their relations with their workers, are wholly oriented toward the world and national markets and plan their production solely with a view to maximizing their profits. Their situation and mode of behavior, in other words, is typically capitalist, and it can only lead to confusion to introduce the concept of "feudalism" in analyzing their class position and historical role. The translation from Spanish is by Rodolfo B. Arrigorriaga.—*The Editors*

Peru is one of the countries with deepest roots in the history of America, due to the high levels of culture attained by the pre-Hispanic civilizations; to its having been the center of Spanish colonial power in South America; and to the undeniable survival of structures, systems, traditions, and habits belonging to the stages of autochthonous and colonial development.

Feudalism was transplanted here through the Conquest in the sixteenth century, and pure forms of slavery through the

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importation of Negroes during the eighteenth century. The feudal regime grew even stronger after independence, in the first decades of the nineteenth century. By the second half of that century an incipient capitalism began to develop, and the imperialist penetration started from the first decades of this century.

Thus we find, in today's Peru, hybrid systems that could fall into the generic denomination of a feudal-bourgeois-imperialist regime. In addition, there are national minorities still submerged in stages of savagery or barbarism in the Peruvian Amazonia.

This country, perhaps the most contradictory in all Latin America, has entered upon an insurrectional process, the special features of which deserve to be known and analyzed. For this purpose, it is indispensable to outline some essential aspects of national reality.

The Andes Range overlies our country as a sort of backbone separating it into two parts. On the West there is a kind of a shelf by the sea, a region called the Coast; and to the East an immense territory, slowly descending and merging into the Amazon basin. The Coast is a long strip of land by the sea, 95 percent uninhabited owing to a lack of rainfall. The dryness of the climate as well as its temperateness, despite geographic location in the torrid zone, is caused by the Humboldt cold current which washes the coastline. Small valleys formed by the rivers that gather the rain waters from the western slopes of the Andes traverse this deserted strip and determine the sites of the towns. The main cities of the country are on the Coast. The fertile coastal lands are in the hands of monopolies (as in the rest of the country), and are mainly devoted to the production of cotton, sugar cane, and some other foodstuffs. Peruvian industry is chiefly located in this region, and about 80 percent of it is concentrated in Lima. Nearly four million people live within the coastal zone: it might be considered the capitalist zone of Peru.

The mountainous region known as the Sierra is a lofty labyrinth with snow-capped peaks and deep valleys; with huge plains called *punas* or *jalcas;* with zones of meager vegetation near the summits and impenetrable wooded fields in the valleys,

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most of which extend toward the Amazonian jungle; and with cold and dry or moderate and tropical climates, depending on altitudes and topographical features. The Sierra is the largest and most densely populated region in the country. The latifundio system, with its feudal or semi-feudal relations, prevails there. The indigenous communities, the primitive *Ayllus* of the Incas, survive in a permanent struggle against *gamonalist** usurpation and against the individualistic influences within themselves. Inside the communities, and among the peasantry in general, collectivist methods of work and feelings of mutual aid and help still prevail. This is a region of extreme backwardness. Most of the land is devoted to food production and cattle-raising. The most important mining centers are also in this region and provide jobs, mainly temporary, for some 200,000 workers who come from the countryside. The Sierra has a population of about seven million people, principally Indians and *mestizos.* The Sierra expresses the real Peru, the feudal Peru, the Indian Peru.

The Selva (jungle) is a vast, largely uninhabited region, where the rivers provide the only gateways and where vegetation is luxuriant. Its population is barely 300,000 including whites, *mestizos,* and savages. The highlands, known as the Jungle's Eyebrow (*Ceja de la Selva*), on the escarpments of the Andes, have a large potential for short-term development due to the fertility of the land, its topography, and climate; they are chiefly devoted to tropical fruit production and livestock. The lowlands, flooded during most of the year, contain huge forest resources, and are uninhabited and inhospitable. Little towns are scattered along the rivers and earn their living from the sale of wood, medicinal herbs, wild animals, furs, etc. The best lands have been monopolized by native or foreign enterprises under cover of supposed colonization plans, a good example being the American-owned Leturneau which controls over 400,000 hectares.

One can speak of an inner colonialism in Peru. Since the Conquest, the Coast has been the exploiters' headquarters. They

* *Gamonal* is a term applied in Peru to the feudal or semi-feudal landholdings and landowners of the Sierra.

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settled there due to the mildness of the climate and the possibility of easy flight in case of an Indian revolt, which they always feared—a fear inherited by their descendants. The Sierra and the Selva have been and continue to be looked upon as colonial territories by the Peruvian oligarchy. The part of the riches of these regions which does not flow abroad is concentrated in the Coast, mainly in Lima. The Sierra provides workers for the mines, coastal farms, and urban industries. Some 80 percent of the army and police is composed of highland peasants rooted out by the system of compulsory military service and used by the oligarchy against their class brothers. The landowners, the big bourgeoisie, the central power, and a large portion of the overstuffed bureaucracy are established in the Coast. Millions of Peruvians speak Quechua, Aymara, and other native languages and know almost no Spanish.

Nevertheless, it must be noted that during the last few decades a process of interbreeding (*mestización*) and, so to speak, of Peruvianization of the cities has been under way. Thousands of peasants are fleeing from landlord oppression in the Sierra, from misery and backwardness, and emigrating to the coastal cities looking for a better life. The coastal cities are growing rapidly because of these peasant migrations. The Indians who could not reconquer the land in their native territories are now conquering the sandy grounds surrounding the cities; and their "marginal" or "clandestine" neighborhoods shoot up like mushrooms. Miserable huts made of reeds, matting, cardboard, tin cans, and paper house these thousands of migrants, who vegetate in unemployment or underemployment and exert pressure upon the wages of the employed workers. They constitute real "belts of misery and resentment" surrounding the coastal cities of Peru. To appreciate the importance of this phenomenon, let us remember that Lima, with a population of a million and half, has 160 "marginal neighborhoods" inhabited by 600,000 people. Proportions vary between 20 and 50 percent in other cities of the Coast, such as Arequipa, Chimbote, Trujillo, Chiclayo, and Piura. The oligarchy is becoming alarmed, living in permanent fear of an invasion of their residential areas by the dispossessed. It has been proposed that some sort of a passport system be set up for highland peasants who

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try to settle in the cities, or that the migratory stream be diverted toward the Selva, in order to provide manpower to the latifundists or concessionaries who monopolize the land, and to ward off the danger feared by the oligarchy.

We must complete this sketch of Peruvian reality by stating that there are over six million peasants in the country, and nearly half a million workers, including farm and mining laborers. Given our condition as an oppressed and dependent country, the petty bourgeoisie is numerous and impoverished, and constitutes an important social sector. For the same reasons, the national bourgeoisie is small and weak. The big bourgeoisie and the landlords compose the national oligarchy and control the land, capital, import-export trade, and certain branches of domestic trade. Imperialism relies upon and uses them to penetrate our country and gain control over its economy, mainly in the extractive sectors but also in commerce, manufacturing, banking, and services.

The concentration of land ownership, according to official statistics, is as follows: in the coastal area 10 percent of the landowners control 89 percent of the agricultural land; in the Sierra, three percent of the landowners own 83 percent of the land, and in the Selva another three percent owns 93 percent of the areas allocated under colonization grants.

The Peruvian big bourgeoisie is intimately linked to the latifundists and, consequently, to the semi-feudal regime prevailing in most of the countryside. The two groups are joined by an exceedingly strong umbilical cord: the big latifundists are at the same time big capitalists—that is, they participate in industry, commerce, and finance.

Our huge mineral resources, including copper, lead, iron, zinc, oil, silver, gold, vanadium, bismuth, tungsten, etc., are in the hands of American imperialist enterprises, such as Cerro de Pasco Corporation, Southern Mining Company, Northern Mining Company, Marcena Mining Company, International Petroleum Company, etc.

Production of fish meal is at present the chief national industry, and Peru has overtaken Japan as the world's main producer. Foreign enterprises control more than 60 percent of this industry.

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Wages are miserable. They vary from 20 to 40 soles a day in the Coast and the mines ($0.80 to $1.60). In large parts of the Sierra there prevails a system of servile labor based on sharecropping. Incomes there are as low as one sol a day. The feudal regime is the source of cheap manpower; the big mining companies own latifundios in the Sierra in order to satisfy their need for a cheap captive labor force.

Our people's poverty is so extreme that in certain regions peasant families give away or sell their children in order to save them from starvation. In some of the coastal shantytowns women and children are often seen collecting garbage for food in competition with pigs and dogs.

Our nutritional indexes are among the lowest in the world, averaging 1,920 calories a day. Only a few countries have a higher infantile death rate. Tuberculosis, silicosis, parasitosis, malaria, typhus, and other diseases are endemic. Most of our people are clothed in rags and wear no shoes. Housing is miserable.

The Peruvian population is 62 percent illiterate, and over one million children have no schools at all. Secondary, technical, and higher education are an out-of-reach privilege for all but a tiny minority. Political power is in the hands of the feudal-bourgeois-imperialist oligarchy which is very strong and clear-sighted. At no time in our history has it lost its grip. The present regime is a hybrid. The executive represents certain sectors of the national bourgeoisie and the big bourgeoisie; while the latifundists, big bourgeoisie, and servants of imperialism are fundamentally represented by the parliament.

The parties of the bourgeoisie and latifundists—APRA, *Acción Popular* and *Unión Nacional Odriista*—exert control over the masses, especially in the Coast. The Left is represented by the Communist Party (now divided into two factions); the *Frente de Liberación Nacional* (divided into three factions); the Trotskyists (comprising three small groups); and the *Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria.*

It must be remembered that because of illiteracy most of the national adult population remains outside the electoral process.

A background of defeat and skepticism impregnates the collective consciousness. The phrase "No one can save Peru"

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expresses a general conviction. The betrayals committed against our people by parties like the APRA and demagogues like Belaunde Terry, to mention only the most recent ones, and the failures due to the lack of a wise revolutionary leadership, have resulted in generalized skepticism and fear.

This reality poses the problem of reform or revolution. American imperialism, some sectors of the national bourgeoisie and latifundists, afraid of revolution, are trying hard to offer Latin America some sort of reform or peaceful revolution that may serve to safeguard their fundamental interests.

A document entitled *Nuestra Posición* (Our Position) published by the MIR in 1964, says:

> Up to then [that is, before the Cuban Revolution] imperialism —which is the great contriver in all this—had safeguarded its interests by leaning on its most natural accomplices: the latifundist oligarchy and the big bourgeoisie. But the Cuban Revolution has proven how unsafe these supports are nowadays. It has shown that, indulging in the most scandalous forms of oppression and injustice, they are planting a time bomb which threatens to blow up the whole system. Imperialism has become alarmed and tried to shift its base. This alarmed imperialism is "Kennedyism," which seeks to lean more and more on other equally powerful sectors of the bourgeoisie, and on some non-latifundist sectors linked to the land. The aim has been to build on these foundations a representative democracy capable of carrying out a peaceful revolution. . . .
>
> The scheme seemed excellent and left a broad margin for demagogy. It was presented to the masses and raised many a hope. Thus, with Kennedy's blessing, leaning on powerful sectors of the bourgeoisie plus the middle layer of landowners, supported by the military group in power, and with the vote of a large part of the electorate, the standard-bearer of this new set of forces came to power, put into the field by the *Acción Popular-Democracia Cristiana* Alliance: Fernando Belaunde Terry.
>
> But the scheme, if it was ever to get started, presupposed above all that the oligarchy should be brought to reason and made to accept being peacefully destroyed. But, as we have pointed out earlier and as reality everywhere shows, appealing to the sentiments and wisdom of a blinded oligarchy is nonsense. . . . Ousted from the executive, the oligarchy began to organize in self-defense. It proved to be easy to hire and reconcile old betrayers, and now we see the oligarchy entrenched in the parliament and controlling it through that unnatural marriage—the so-called

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APRA-UNO Coalition. There it is, irreconcilable, unwilling to allow even one of its hairs to be touched.

This is the first weakness of the Kennedy scheme; it is perhaps the most important, but not the only one.

The very forces that have stood up in parliament to defend the latifundio system to the death, have also assumed the defense of the imperialism which is "not alarmed"—or alarmed for other reasons—as represented by the Pentagon. This is the imperialist sector—the strongest since it is most consistently aggressive—which is unwilling to make the slightest concession; which begrudges loans for the Alliance for Progress; which prefers to continue leaning on the ancient oligarchies; which feels better relying upon military dictatorships; and which, of course, will not accept even a face-saving agreement about the oil of La Brea and Pariñas. The APRA and the UNO receive their slogans from these sectors. . . .

In the short time since this document was published, we have seen Kennedyism buried together with its creator, and American policy is more and more evidently dictated from the Pentagon, that is, toward more irreconcilable positions regarding the defense of their interests and our country's submission, and toward an indiscriminate selection of puppets, accepting or fostering whatever military coups may suit the self-interest of the United States. Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Ecuador, Brazil, and Bolivia all provide examples of this. Moreover, under Johnson this policy has gone as far as outright military intervention in the Dominican Republic to check a merely reformist movement, in spite of its unquestionably popular and democratic character.

The looting of our countries by American imperialism and its allies and the growing impoverishment of the great majority of our peoples nullify whatever reforms are instituted within the ever-narrowing frame established by those interests, forcing our peoples to follow the only other way, the revolutionary way.

But when choosing the way of revolution it is essential to determine which class or classes are to lead it.

On February 7 last year, speaking to a meeting of the Peruvian Left at Plaza San Martín, in Lima, we said:

> In other stages of world history, the bourgeoisie performed a revolutionary task when it destroyed the feudal regime. The bourgeoisie, as a class, fulfilled its historical mission through the liberal revolution. But in the present stage of world history, given

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the conditions prevailing in countries like ours, the bourgeoisie is incapable of leading the struggle against exploiters from within and without. . . .

On the other hand, the interests of our landowners are closely tied to the big imperialist monopolies since the latifundist oligarchy, sacrificing any other kind of production, provides raw materials to be exported to the imperialist countries. Production and export of raw materials such as sugar, cotton, fish meal, minerals, etc., and importation of manufactured goods, are the chief sources of wealth for the oligarchy and its imperialist overlords. At the same time this relation, this marriage between the oligarchy and American monopolies, constitutes a yoke that prevents our independent development and progress. Our country's economy has been deformed in order the better to serve the interests of the oligarchy and imperialism. These interests, of course, control both political and military power.

As a consequence of all this, any revolution in Peru is bound to attack these interests, and has to be both anti-oligarchical and anti-imperialist.

In these conditions, the Peruvian bourgeoisie, weak and underdeveloped as it is, is impotent, incapable of leading an anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchical revolution. To this end it would have to lean on the masses, and the bourgeoisie knows that if it did, the masses would end by going over its head to achieve their own objectives. To the bourgeoisie, the masses represent a greater danger than the oligarchy or imperialism. In the presence of this danger, the bourgeoisie prefers to give up and adapt itself. It manipulates the people through electoral demagogy in order to seize power and later betrays the people, leaning on the oligarchy and imperialism to stay in power. The bourgeoisie can but betray in order to survive.

The hour of the capitalist economy, the perfecter of the exploitation of man by man, has passed. The Peruvian bourgeoisie is arriving late on the stage of history. It is not even the master of its own market. Only the masses, who have no interest in keeping up any kind of regime of exploitation, will be able to fight against the oligarchy and imperialism to the last ditch. This is the time of the peoples, the time to set foot on the road to socialism.

Yet agreeing with all this, which has been fully confirmed by the Belaunde Terry government, there are some people who, though calling themselves members of leftist, revolutionary, and Marxist parties, maintain that the objective and subjective conditions for starting an insurrection are not present in Peru. These people therefore look for ways of compromise with the

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bourgeoisie, embrace reformist schemes, and brand all those who disagree with their views as provocateurs and adventurers.

It is unnecessary to speak about the objective conditions because they are not only ripe now but have always been. I think there is not a country in America where infra- and superstructural conditions are so unjust, so rotten, so archaic as in ours.

As to the subjective conditions, we start from the idea that they are not fully ripe, but that the beginning of the insurrectional process will be the triggering factor leading to their development in ways which no one can now foresee. Moreover, it must be stressed that if such subjective conditions have not attained their necessary ripeness, this is partly due to the inability of the leftist parties and groups to foster and cultivate the ground.

Some aspects of this problem should be pointed out, to show that the willingness to struggle of our masses exceeds by far the leadership capacity of those who have pretended or still pretend to be called the people's revolutionary vanguard.

In 1963, after the demagogic promises of Belaunde Terry about handing the land over to the peasants through a radical and speedy agrarian reform, the peasants of the central hilly regions applied themselves to reconquering the land by invading neighboring estates, most of which had been usurped or stolen from the Indian communities or peasant groups. They did this on July 28, Independence Day, while Belaunde was receiving his presidential ribbon amidst pomp, praise, and bureaucracy. This wave of invasions, starting as a spontaneous movement, spread all over the country, like fire in a dry field, and everywhere thousands of peasants—men, women, and children with flags, drums, and *pututos*—encroached on the latifundios, an unheard-of happening in this country's history. The absence of a vanguard capable of leading this process made it possible for Belaunde, resorting to his demagogic talents, to launch a huge propaganda campaign and a gigantic sanguinary repression. As a result he regained control of the situation, forcing the peasants to retreat and keeping them quiet for a while by fostering the vain hope that they would receive by legal means the land that always belonged to them and which they make

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productive by working on it as serfs. Whole provinces had been invaded. In the central and southern regions the peasant assault was sweeping, gigantic, historical, a harbinger of one still to come which will mark our revolutionary process as unique on the continent and perhaps in the whole world.

The presence of the Indian communities, which number over 5,000—despite the fact that only 1,600 of them are officially recognized—and comprise three million peasants, as well as the growing process of forming peasant unions within the latifundios, especially in the south, are factors of first-rate importance which throw light on the problem and the outlook.

We have already spoken about the communities which spring up as though by magic around the cities on untilled land or lots prepared for construction, as a result of the migration of uprooted peasants from the Sierra. Many Peruvians have lost their lives in this struggle for a bit of land on which to build a miserable home. For some years now, the sight of entire districts being cleaned out has become familiar—amidst fire, shooting of police guns, tears of women and children, and the unarmed struggle of the disinherited to defend their only possession.

As to the working class, most of it is still controlled by the bourgeois parties, though its consciousness is reaching higher levels every day and many groups of workers (miners, sugar laborers, and factory workers) have produced big movements which could be controlled only by the use of violence.

It deserves to be stressed that 12 of the 16 universities in the country are totally controlled by the Left, and that both university and high-school students continuously foment mass action in the cities.

We must finally remember an event that made headlines last year, when over a thousand persons died in Lima (despite official reports indicating only one third of that figure), as a consequence of riots which occurred in the National Stadium during an international football match. On that occasion the people of Lima fought for two days against the police and army, releasing their pent-up anger and manifesting their undeniable will to struggle. Similarly, though on a smaller scale, any popular or students' demonstration in the cities, especially in Lima, ends in bus-burnings, breaking of show windows, and

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massive assaults against bourgeois property and the police forces.

All these facts reflect an unquestionable subjective reality and clearly indicate that the only element lacking in our country is a revolutionary vanguard capable of channeling the burning demands of our people, capable of giving form and organization to the masses, and of leading them along the right path.

The assertion that objective and subjective conditions are not ripe in Peru for beginning an insurrection, is only a pretense to block the revolution; it proves the incompetence of the revolutionary leadership and the myopia of those who call themselves Marxist-Leninists or revolutionaries.

Fortunately for Peru, these theories are now being discarded and displaced by the idea that insurrection and armed struggle must be the order of the day, and that the exploited masses should immediately pose for themselves the task of seizing power.

There are still, however, varying views and schemes as to how this is to be accomplished. Some people still maintain dogmatically the traditional schemes of the October Revolution, with proletarian leadership and the center of operations in the cities. On the other side there are Trotskyists such as the *Frente Izquierdista Revolucionario,* formerly led by Hugo Blanco, who uphold the thesis of dual power, with peasant organizations taking over, one by one, the functions of the oligarchic power, spreading and developing in provincial, departmental, regional federations, and finally attaining control of a gigantic peasant and popular movement. This movement, following a process of growing radicalization, would undertake the creation of its own armed militia and would culminate in the seizure of power as an essentially mass phenomenon.

As far as we are concerned, since we were born to national political life on October 12, 1959, we have emphasized the need to face up to the problem starting from armed struggle in the countryside by means of guerrilla strategy and tactics. In this way, we aim to lift the veil of deceit, dread, and skepticism which today dominates our people's consciousness; to start mobilizing, organizing, and inspiring the great masses of peasants, students, petty bourgeois, and workers; to build the rebel

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army and bring about the disintegration of the mercenary army (most of it composed, as we have said before, of peasants) through struggle and propaganda; and to seize power via military action closely tied to the masses—that is, a people's war pushing outward from the Andes to the Coast, from the countryside to the cities, from the provinces to the capital.

The city-centered scheme of the October Revolution does not apply to our reality, since the oligarchic power here is strong and not in decomposition as was the case during that historic event; the fact that this scheme continues to be considered can only be attributed to the dogmatism of certain orthodox Trotskyists and to a general tendency to interpret everything in terms of schemes borrowed from abroad.

The dual-power scheme had to be discarded owing to the failure of Hugo Blanco, who, in spite of having developed an interesting process of mass organization and struggle, was not able to survive the first assaults of the repressive forces.

The MIR's insurrectional scheme is based on the following principles:

(1) The objective and subjective conditions are present, and the latter, even if they are not fully ripe, will mature in the process of struggle.

(2) The exploited masses must immediately propose the seizure of power through armed struggle.

(3) The strategy and tactics must in the first stage be those of guerrilla war, and later those of maneuver, or even positional warfare.

(4) Given our condition as a mainly peasant country, and our geographic features, insurrection must start in the Sierra or in the eastern Andean escarpments.

(5) Given the size of our country and its lack of geographical integration and transportation systems, its multiplicity of languages, races, and culture, it is advisable to organize several guerrilla centers to initiate and develop the struggle.

(6) The impact of guerrilla actions will serve to build and develop the party and to start mobilizing the masses, stimulating their consciousness, and incorporating them in the struggle, both in the countryside and in the city.

(7) Due to our condition as an underdeveloped country

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suffering from the combined oppression of latifundists, big bourgeoisie, and imperialists, it is essential to unite the exploited sectors: peasants, workers, petty bourgeoisie, and progressive sectors of the national bourgeoisie, within a united front led by the worker-peasant alliance represented by the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party.

(8) The Peruvian revolution is part of the continental and world process, which demands progressive forms of integration in every aspect and stage, in order to defeat the oligarchic and imperialist forces which are working together all over the continent.

We think that, starting from certain minimum levels of party organization and prestige among the masses, we must devote ourselves to the work of insurrection, convinced that during the preparatory stage in the guerrilla zones, and more intensively after the beginning of action, it will be possible to build the party and mobilize, organize, give consciousness to, and incorporate the masses into the armed struggle. This involves starting from the highest level of popular struggle, armed struggle, through which we shall be able to build a true revolutionary party and win over the masses.

Experience has often shown that we were right when we posed the issue in terms of these principles. When we established our leadership and main cadres in the so-called security zone, it became essential for us to set up minimum instruments of supply, information, and liaison with the peasants. They in turn, impressed by the presence of armed groups in the mountains and by our intense ideological work, began to drop their skepticism, their dread and the deceit which formerly braked their profound eagerness to struggle. They began to form cells which have continued to grow and multiply ever since, strengthening their ideological basis and developing, under our leadership, new aspects of work, such as clandestine propaganda, organization of new cells and peasant trade unions.

With the beginning of our actions through one of the MIR guerrilla bands, the *Tupac Amaru*, in the central Sierra, our impact on the masses reached nation-wide proportions. We are now passing from secret to public armed propaganda and to new forms of propaganda. Armed action radicalizes the masses,

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and the same applies to the repression which it evokes. This way, the process as a whole continues to develop, starting from the armed struggle as the catalyst. As soon as the *Ata Hualpa* and *Cesar Vallejo* guerrillas in the northern Sierra and the *Mancco Inca* and *Pachacutec* guerrillas in the south are ordered into action, following a plan drawn up by the MIR leadership, the scope of our work and impact on the masses should be incomparably greater.

Though it is very difficult to foresee the course of events, some general ideas can be ventured as to the future of this process started in Peru by the guerrilla actions of the MIR.

We think our insurrectional process will assume new forms characteristic of a real agrarian revolution, and the peasant mass actions will start with the invasion of the latifundios usurped from the communities and peasant groups, under the leadership of clandestine cells and committees of the revolutionary party and supported by guerrilla groups. Peasants will organize their own defensive militias and, according to their ideological level and enthusiasm, will be incorporated into the guerrilla bands or the rebel army ranks.

Contradictions in the countryside are so severe that they cannot be solved by means of palliatives or promises. Their deep-rooted and nation-wide character insures that they will initiate an unprecedented process.

The Sierra is the most densely populated region of the country, as we have already seen; and to a large extent it provisions the markets. Most of the highways and railways cross the Andes, starting from sea level, gradually climbing the western range and, some of them, the central and eastern ranges, running through an impressive succession of canyons, valleys, hillsides, and plains. The supply lines of the military forces must start from the Coast, while the food supply lines of the coastal zones come from the Sierra. This is the geographic, economic, and military equation to be taken into account and solved.

On the other hand, as we have seen, 80 percent of the army and police is manned by highland peasants, a fact which renders them quite unsafe for the repression of a social agrarian movement centered in the Sierra.

It must be remembered, too, that the urban and rural

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bourgeoisie suffers from the consequences of exploitation and underdevelopment caused by oligarchic and imperialist rule. For this reason, certain sectors and offshoots of this class—students, intellectuals, professionals, technicians, artisans, and owners of certain means of production—can and will play an important role in the insurrectional process.

The working class continues its process of radicalization, beginning with the miners and farm laborers. Further, the unemployed and underemployed people in the shanty towns, suffering from alienation and misery, are in a position to understand the social and economic differences prevailing in the country owing to their living in the cities as servants of the oligarchs, as exploited laborers, as itinerant salesmen, or as mere witnesses of the ostentation of the oligarchs, of their luxurious dwellings and their insensibility and contempt for the people. These victims of the system can easily become an uncontrollable avalanche in a certain stage of the revolutionary process.

Within this conception of a people's war, guerrillas act as catalysts of the social outburst, seed for the rebel army, instruments of propaganda and organization, as well as ideological and military schools.

The unity of the Left is another important aspect of this outlook. We see such unity as indispensable for developing the struggle and bringing it to a climax. We believe that this unity will be born during the process of the struggle, and we reject every form of phony parliamentarism. We also think that the unity of the Left will involve a whole process of development. We feel sure that all real revolutionaries, all true Marxist-Leninists, will have to enter the historic doors which the MIR is now opening in Peru, unless they want once again to be left behind by history's advance.

We believe that the party of the Peruvian revolution will shape itself within the insurrectional process, and that its cadres and leaders will emerge from the struggle itself. We do not use a party label; we call ourselves what we really are, a movement which aspires to be a promoter of the party of the Peruvian revolution.

The Peruvian revolution is, on the other hand, a part of the continental and world revolutions. It arises from the un-

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limited liberating strength of oppressed peoples and opposes their worst enemy, American imperialism and its oligarchic lackeys. Insurrection in Latin America is not a commodity that can be exported from one country to another, but the very offspring of contradictions inherent in the system dominating our peoples. Insurrection in Latin America is under way in Venezuela, Guatemala, Colombia, and Peru; and many other countries are on the threshold of armed action. No force can stop this continental process, linked as it is to the world revolution at a time when the contradictions of imperialism grow sharper every day and new theaters of struggle are multiplying.

We think that American imperialism will desperately call on its huge resources in order to choke the continental war of emancipation. We feel sure that American armed intervention in our country will come more quickly than in other nations, because the Pentagon is perfectly aware of the importance of a triumphant or developing insurrection in the very heart of Latin America. In any case, we hope that the national liberation war in our country will be a positive factor in mobilizing and stiffening popular consciousness against the foreign exploiter and interventionist.

American imperialists are already fostering a so-called Inter-American Defense Force directed against our people's liberation movements; but just the same it must be understood that our national revolutionary struggle will become, sooner or later, a continental revolutionary struggle, because all our peoples feel the same eagerness for liberation, and the process in one country will help to radicalize the others and make them join the struggle through methods and forms suited to their own realities.

The insurrectional process started by the Movement of the Revolutionary Left is that of a national and popular, anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist revolution destined to establish a democratic government and the foundations for the building of socialism in our country.

We rely on our glorious people and have faith in the revolution. This nourishes our decision to continue, regardless of whatever sacrifice, along the road we have chosen, and to be worthy representatives of the revolutionary vanguard of the Peruvian people.

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VENEZUELA AND THE FALN SINCE LEONI

BY JAMES D. COCKCROFT AND EDUARDO VICENTE

After ten years of ruthless military dictatorship, the 1959 advent of a democratically elected government in Venezuela lifted popular hopes for social-economic reform and political democracy. In 1958, Rómulo Betancourt (President 1959-1964) spoke like a revolutionary, in 1959 like a reformist. His initial actions were, in fact, reformist; but in the last four years of his regime, under pressures from Left and Right, he performed increasingly as a conservative. As a result, his political party, *Acción Democrática* (AD), lost its Left and Center wings, which became respectively the revolutionary *Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria* (MIR—outlawed in 1962 along with the Venezuelan Communist Party, PCV) and the smaller, reformist *Partido Revolucionario Nacional* (PRN). The remainder of AD, backed by a vast governmental bureaucracy and a well-oiled, well-financed political machine, polled only 33 percent of the 1963 electoral vote, compared to 49 percent in 1958. AD alienated many Venezuelans by its goon-squad attacks on political opposition, its failure to carry out adequate agrarian reform, housing, or employment programs, its suppression of attempts at progressive, class-oriented labor movements and strikes, and its permitting the torture and assassination of political prisoners, confirmed by congressional investigation. In short, AD failed in its effort to prove that fundamental problems of an underdeveloped country could be adequately confronted within a capitalist, reformist system.*

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* For confirmation, primary sources, and statistics of this failure, see James D. Cockcroft, "Venezuela: Class Stratification and Revolution," *The Mexico Quarterly Review,* Mexico City, Vol. 2, No. 3 (July 1965), pp. 138-146.

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Raúl Leoni (President 1964-?) has vainly pursued the same course as Betancourt. Leoni is a product of the AD political machine and of the government-subsidized, AFL-CIO-backed "official" labor federation of Venezuela. He has none of the political craftiness, oratorical skills, or imagination of Betancourt. However, he has made up for these lacks by increasing the government's measures of repression and faithfully executing steps favored by Venezuela's ruling elites and by United States economic interests, mostly petroleum (38 percent of all United States investments in Latin America are in Venezuela).

Prior to AD's swing to the Right, which became manifest as early as 1960, COPEI (so-called Christian Socialists, a reformist party supported by much of the Catholic hierarchy) had been considered Venezuela's only significant conservative party. Today, COPEI, which supported Betancourt, opposes Leoni as "too rightist," and is the only political party capable of threatening the overwhelming majority control of student politics exercised by MIR and the PCV.

Venezuela's supercharged student politics are highly significant, for they have produced each new civilian political vanguard throughout the country's modern history. When their alumnus Betancourt failed to follow the revolutionary path they anticipated, Venezuela's students provided leadership, animus, and manpower for the launching of the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN) in 1962. Unlike Betancourt, the FALN provided a clean break with the old order. It demanded agrarian reform, class-representative labor unions, industrialization, nationalization of the petroleum and other industries, and democracy. To obtain these objectives, the FALN claimed that United States imperialism must be driven from Venezuela's shores. It proposed a new method to achieve these aims, less subject to compromise with vested economic interests: armed struggle for political power. New, inexperienced, and empirical, the FALN at first made many mistakes. However, it has since engaged in profitable self-criticism of both ideology and tactics, resulting in greater fundamental strength. It has also established firm guerrilla strongholds in at least five states and has carried out sporadic armed skirmishes in most of the remaining fifteen states.

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Much of the FALN's self-criticism occurred following the Left's chaotic, unclear performance during the 1963 election campaign. Both the MIR and PCV, driven underground and co-operating in varying degrees with the FALN, hedged their electoral bets up until the very last moment. They finally, if tardily, agreed to support no candidate and called for voter abstention. Almost until election eve the PCV had tried vainly to make a deal with ex-student leader Jóvito Villalba, chief of the reformist Republican Democratic Union (URD), which since the election has joined Leoni's so-called *ancha base* (broad-based) government. The FALN viewed the PCV's compromising, and less so the MIR's, with increasing scorn.

In early 1964, the MIR divided on the issue of violent revolution, when a minority group led by Domingo Alberto Rangel, one of the party's founders and most brilliant leaders in earlier years, called for abandonment of the armed struggle. Following this 1964 split, which also affected the PCV and involved much of the Sino-Soviet polemic although Communist leaders kept the fact secret, the FALN announced a clearer, more coherent program of action:

(1) The struggle would be a prolonged one; therefore, strategy had to be shaped for long-range objectives.

(2) Armed struggle would be centered around the fortification of *rural* guerrilla fronts, because these offered the best advantages for a long-term defensive struggle and provided liberated areas from which offensive operations could be launched.

(3) In the cities, political work would concentrate on going to the people in the *barrios* (neighborhoods) and to the workers in the factories to organize them and help them with their immediate, transitional demands and needs. All possible legal and semi-legal means would be used. Political work in urban centers would aim primarily at building support for the guerrilla struggle in the nation's interior. The importance of this third point has been underlined by the FALN's designation of 1965 as "the year of the FLN," the *Frente de Liberación Nacional,* which is being organized and expanded as the "political arm" of the FALN. (*continued on page* 36)

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(*continued from page* 31)

Today, in spite of frequent governmental claims that the FALN "no longer exists," four separate guerrilla "fronts" have been established. They are in the west-central states of Falcón, Trujillo, Lara and Portuguesa, and the east-central state of Miranda, just two hours by car from Caracas.

Comandante Elias Manuitt, Chief of Staff of the Falcón Front, has described the situation, in a letter of March 1965:

> At this very moment I have heard the cynical words of the puppet Minister of Defense of this trembling and rotting regime: that we have been destroyed; that we are less than ten running to hide; that the peasants yell for help and protection by the army; that the army treats the peasants marvelously; that they have captured the "cave" of the Commanding Staff of our Front, etc., etc. What cynics! They, more than anyone, know what the real situation is. The grotesque comedy they present to the newspapermen will do them no good. Venezuela's people also know that their vanguard is indestructible. Here is the result of the army's "necessary protective presence" in the villages of the Sierra: two women killed in Cabure and Pueblo Nuevo; more than one peasant killed in Acarigua, El Mamonal, etc.; unrestrained and public tortures applied to the Sierra's peasants; peasant prisoners by the dozens; alarm and fear among the villages living under military dictatorship in a constant state of siege.
>
> "Guerrillas Destroyed!" But our answer to the most intensive and aggressive attack on us, on December 6, 1964: occupation and total destruction of the military post at El Paso—a little dictatorship—under the noses of their Command Post, with dead, wounded, and the loss of seven automatic rifles (Fal), other equipment, and a commercial radio, and finally, total destruction of installations, two jeeps, beds, ammunition, and abandonment of the area by government troops, much to the pleasure and satisfaction of the peasant inhabitants of El Paso.

Encounters between the military and the guerrillas have, in fact, been frequent. FALN guerrilla detachments have been bombed by the air force and attacked by full troop regiments, "advised" by the United States Military Mission in Caracas. Efforts have been made to conduct "psychological warfare" in which the army, DIGEPOL (national police), and other government forces sent to squash the guerrillas, attempt to woo the peasants by giving them presents, bringing in doctors and dentists, and delivering toys to the children. Comandante

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Manuitt told one of the authors of how the peasants in turn brought the guerrillas the gifts, including American cigarettes, and informed them of everything the government forces had said or done.

Next, the government turned to harassing, arresting, and torturing peasants in the guerrilla areas and their peripheries. This increased the militancy of peasant support for the guerrillas.

Recent reports from the guerrilla fronts, many of them confirmed by various international news services, indicate the nature of the prolonged war the FALN has undertaken. In Miranda state, the Ezequiel Zamora Front cuts across the main highway artery to the eastern section of the country, including the rich iron ore area of Bolívar state and Guayana. The Front is expanding in an easterly direction, gaining peasant support as it reaches new *conucos** and villages.

In Falcón, site of the largest, most frequently attacked front, guerrillas recently knocked down three helicopters. Also in 1965, a guerrilla patrol in Falcón occupied the town of Aracua, gathered the townspeople in the plaza, and explained to them the purposes of the armed struggle. Shortly thereafter, air force planes bombed the area without previous warning, killing six peasants.

In Lara state, one helicopter was knocked down on March 24, 1965, as it carried out a reconnaissance mission over guerrilla territory. In the hamlet of Quebrada de Oro, Lara, the FALN's "Carlos Augusto Leal" Detachment ambushed a government patrol, killed nine soldiers, wounded an indeterminate number, and captured various automatic rifles (Fal) of 7.65 caliber, 9mm Madsen submachine guns, ammunition, and field equipment. Prisoners were set free after interrogation. Shortly after this encounter and near Quebrada de Oro, another battle took place against two government patrols sent as reinforcements. A lieutenant and four soldiers were wounded. Contact with the enemy was then broken off without further incident.

The "Sandalio Linares" Detachment, also of the Lara-Portuguesa Front, intercepted and captured a motorized army

* Slash-and-burn farm fields of migrant, landless peasants, who comprise 80 percent of Venezuela's farming population.

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patrol. A lieutenant, a staff sergeant, and two soldiers were taken prisoners. Two automatic (Fal) 7.65 caliber rifles, 2 Madsen 9mm submachine guns, and 3 hand grenades plus ammunition were confiscated. In late March, 1965, the FALN attacked an army outpost at Villanueva, Lara.

In Trujillo state, FALN guerrillas attacked the main military base at Boconó, but in general have been less active than in Falcón and Lara-Portuguesa.

Meanwhile, as the FALN thus dug in for prolonged war against Venezuela's massive, modern-equipped military machine, a heightened struggle for influence and control over the government developed within the bourgeoisie. For example, the threat of a military coup, present throughout Betancourt's reign as well as Leoni's, reappeared in early 1965 as an ever more likely possibility. On February 23, Leoni stated in a public speech that "no one will topple this government through violence," thus indicating the tension existing around the threat of a coup.

Within the bourgeoisie, two opposing positions have become clear. One calls upon the government for stronger suppression of opposition and greater security and guarantees for foreign investments. Along with certain large business interests, the military has identified itself with this position, which therefore has been described as that of the *gorilas*. The other forces within the bourgeoisie, composing the liberal sector of the *ancha base* government of Leoni, call for certain concessions to the democratic process and less suppression of the opposition (this is also COPEI's position).

It appears that the PCV and, to a lesser extent, the MIR have decided to support the "lesser evil" sector of the bourgeoisie "so that the struggle can be presented in terms that will avoid unnecessary popular sacrifices." Although this position contains an element of truth (a bourgeois democracy might restore political freedom for PCV and MIR), it implies a much deeper contention which is highly dubious. The PCV is sacrificing a political position of class struggle for the hope of bringing about a less dictatorial government that would supposedly provide greater opportunities for advancing the struggle. This path has always led to disaster in Venezuela's past (e.g.

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during Pérez Jiménez's 1948-1958 dictatorship), and today rests on the false assumption that Latin America's middle classes are "progressive" and therefore potentially "revolutionary."

The PCV has gone so far as to refer to the *betancurtistas* as the real enemy, thus leaving the way open for even Leoni to pass to the liberal camp. The net result is to move political interpretation one notch further away from the realities of the class situation.

Thus, Venezuelans are witnessing a *turn to the Right* by the leadership of the Communist Party. "Unity of all revolutionaries," demands the PCV's weekly *Tribuna Popular,* "unity of the revolutionaries with all who are opposed to the *betancurtista* policies." In a clandestinely circulated document of the PCV Central Committee's Seventh Plenum (1965), the FALN is praised, but a longer appeal is made to "all Venezuelans, civilian and military, of the opposition and even in sectors of the government, to make a reality the desire for peace . . ."

This new turn by the PCV is diametrically opposed to the political evolution of the FALN, which since its founding has steadily moved in the direction of militant, revolutionary Marxism. Because of the interrelation which existed between the PCV and the FALN when the PCV first went underground, this new zig-zag by the PCV could mean a setback for the FALN.

The MIR, on the other hand, with Simón Sáez Mérida, still imprisoned by the government, as its newly elected General Secretary, has swung back to the Left, judging from documents emanating from its Second National Conference held clandestinely in March, 1965 (the first was in 1960). In the MIR documents, the term *betancurtista* is not used to describe the enemy, and political support of the PCV position is subjected to various limiting conditions. The basic line "for a nationalist, popular, and democratic government" is still maintained, although in many descriptions it approaches more the definition of a government of workers and peasants than simply the national liberal bourgeoisie, or an alliance with it.*

* Rangel's version of the MIR, in a May, 1965, manifesto written and signed by Rangel, insists on non-violence and peaceful appeal to the masses. Rangel's position resembles that of the PCV, although it is perhaps more to the Right.

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In a recent issue of *Negro y Rojo,* a theoretical periodical of the MIR, a detailed analysis is made of the history of the movement. Its origin as a petty bourgeois, liberal "poli-classist" party is outlined. Its dialectical transformation into a "Marxist-Leninist party of the working class" is also described. Also tackled is the problem of the role of the MIR as a Marxist-Leninist party coexisting with the Communist Party. The result of this discussion is an exposition of the Bolshevik principles of democratic centralism, with which MIR identifies itself.

Reflecting the catalytic effect of the Cuban Revolution upon Latin American revolutionaries in general, *Negro y Rojo* points out that "in our times and in our countries, if national liberation revolutions are to triumph and consolidate themselves, they must merge and become complete with the construction of socialism."*

This concept is identical to that presented as the official program of the 13th of November Movement (MR-13) led by Comandante Marco Antonio Yon Sosa in Guatemala. This theory contends that in the colonial and semi-colonial world reformism is doomed to failure and *only* a socialist revolution—that is, one led by the proletariat—is capable of effecting even the most elementary tasks of the so-called revolution of the national bourgeoisie. (See MR, May and June, 1965.)

The MIR has not adopted this outlook, with its inevitable conclusions affecting strategy to be followed in the class struggle, but it can safely be said that there is a beginning in this direction, especially among younger *fidelista* leaders of the party.

In sum, there is at present a new divergency of tendencies within the FALN, as represented by the turn to the Right by the PCV on the one hand, and by the beginning of a more militant, class-struggle outlook by the MIR. To what extent these tendencies will affect the FALN remains to be seen.

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* *Negro y Rojo,* No. 2, 1965, p. 1. Also in this issue is Fidel Castro's March 13, 1965 speech, unequivocally condemning Khruschev's withdrawal of the missiles from Cuba and criticizing weaknesses in both the Soviet and Chinese positions on Vietnam. This issue also includes an article from *Revolución Socialista,* organ of the Guatemalan guerrilla movement, which outlines a program calling for a socialist revolution, establishment of a worker-peasant government, and creation of a workers' state in Guatemala.

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A GUERRILLA WIND

BY ADOLFO GILLY

"Throughout Latin America a guerrilla wind is blowing," says one of the latest editorials in *Visión*,* and it concludes with melancholy: "For the world's timid, bourgeois capital, which has been invited to work in Latin America, each guerrilla that appears is a demonstration that this part of the world is accustomed to a dangerous way of life."

The invocation of the word "capital" is a pretext; at best it can only intimidate governments in search of investors. The renewed preoccupation with guerrillas that *Visión* shares with *Time, Newsweek,* and other publications of North American imperialism is actually due, in part, to the new tack being taken by the guerrilla struggle in Latin America (for the present more a matter of quality rather than quantity) and, in part, to the continuing defeats (quantitative as well as qualitative) suffered by the United States army and its allies at the hands of the South Vietnamese guerrillas. Vietnam has been converted into an incalculable generator of revolutionary energy all over the world, and Latin America is absorbing a large dose of this energy and releasing it with multiplied force.

The preoccupation with guerrillas, then, is part of a much more general preoccupation: the crumbling of the positions of imperialism and its points of support in Latin America, and the fear that in these conditions the guerrillas may find a social milieu immensely more favorable than in the past for the development of a revolutionary situation. And the fear, moreover, that they are moving in a direction that will allow them

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Adolfo Gilly is the author of *Inside the Cuban Revolution* (MR, October, 1964) and *The Guerrilla Movement in Guatemala* (MR, May and June, 1965). The translation from the Spanish is by Nell Salm.

* *Visión* is a bi-weekly news magazine edited in New York, printed in Spanish, and distributed widely in Latin America.—*Ed.*

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to take advantage of these possibilities and overcome the programmatic limitations that until now have enabled governments like those of Venezuela and Colombia to contain or disperse the rising guerrilla influence.

For this reason *Newsweek,* reporting on the Guatemalan guerrillas (August 9, 1965), puts the accent, even in the article's title, on this new preoccupation: "Ideology and Nerve." It is no longer a question of a pinch of ideology and a great dose of nerve, as was the case with the guerrillas who fought with Fidel, says *Newsweek*. Watch the Guatemalans, because they have both. And then, referring to the Guatemalan Revolutionary Movement of November 13 (MR-13) led by Yon Sosa, *Newsweek* says that perhaps the most revealing aspect of Yon Sosa and his activists is their political position. Differing from other Latin American revolutionaries, the article points out, they refuse to hide the communist convictions of their group. Yon Sosa openly calls for the establishment of a "dictatorship of the proletariat" in Guatemala, and he audaciously proposes a conference of guerrilla chiefs from Colombia, Venezuela, and Guatemala in order to plan a "Federation of Socialist Republics of Latin America."

When the editors of a publication written for the higher circles of world capitalism put such emphasis on this new ideological aspect of the guerrilla fight, it is not because they have suddenly acquired theoretical doubts. They feel that a new tack has been taken and that the existing or budding guerrilla movements are moving from an emphasis on mere "armed struggle" as the way out of all the problems of stagnation and paralysis created by the old order, toward the attainment of that goal through the idea and practice of a revolutionary political struggle, a programmatic struggle. And *Newsweek* shows that it knows where the threat is coming from, not only by the combination of the two words which gives the story its title, but even in the order of importance in which the two factors are listed. Ideology comes first, nerve second.

The guerrilla movement of Peru, the *Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria* (MIR), has confirmed this trend.*

* See the article beginning on page 12.

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Initiated with a programmatic manifesto of socialist content, the Peruvian guerrillas have demonstrated within a few weeks that they are prepared and supported by a favorable social milieu. This is what explains the meager success, thus far, of the great offensive of the Peruvian army, whose efficiency and centralization is much superior to that of the Central American armies. From the beginning, the Peruvian guerrilla has demonstrated his similarity to his Guatemalan counterpart.

This programmatic closeness has another result, also new in this stage of Latin American development: neither the Peruvian MIR nor the Guatemalan MR-13 are tied to the Communist Party. On the contrary, there is a profound ideological divergence between the Communist Party and these guerrilla groups which is reflected, particularly in the case of Guatemala, in open conflicts and in violent public polemics.

The Colombian Padre Camilo Torres represents another case. Though he himself is not a guerrilla, he is strongly influenced by the guerrilla activity throughout his country. Despite the fact that he has been accused of being a "half-Communist priest," he has openly indicated his differences with the Communist Party by proclaiming a program far to the left of the Party's, a program which ties him to the leftist revolutionary groups and sectors of his country.

The Communist Party's lack of influence over the new developments on the guerrilla fronts in Latin America brings no satisfaction to the United States. Undoubtedly they wish the guerrillas did not exist. But insofar as guerrillas are inevitable, outside the control of and to the left of the Communist parties they are doubly dangerous, partly because it becomes impossible to identify them as part of a vast international conspiracy directed by the Soviet government, and partly because they tend to cooperate much more readily with the leftist nationalist movements which exist all over Latin America, thus stimulating these movements to more audacious—if not directly socialist—actions and programmatic positions.

Whatever may be the global accord the United States is trying to reach with the Soviet Union, it cannot affect the actual or incipient Latin American armed movements because the

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Soviet Union neither controls nor carries any weight with these movements. The dynamics of these movements comes much more directly from the pressure and mobilization of the masses of the countries in which they operate and, moreover, their points of agreement with other nationalist revolutionary movements of the continent carry them inexorably toward a union with those movements. In this rapprochement, the *program*—whether socialist or developing toward socialism—will play an ever more important role as a unifying force, and it is becoming more and more the watershed in the ideological battle—comparable to that which divided Bolsheviks and Mensheviks in the years when the Russian revolution was being prepared, but with a much vaster territorial and popular impact. And imperialists have learned to pay attention to theoretical tendencies which they formerly considered irrelevant, because they have learned, to their cost, that these tendencies influence the course of history.

The wind which is fanning these developments does not come from Havana. It comes from all over the world. It came partly from China. Today it is coming principally from Vietnam, the eye of the storm in the world crisis of imperialism. Although it has not given theoretical form to its struggle, South Vietnam has introduced a new type of guerrilla war, adding to the historical experience of the Chinese Revolution. In South Vietnam the guerrilla war is conceived of as a war of the masses, with the organized participation of the entire population, rural and urban, with militias, village committees, and a revolutionary political party as the axis of the guerrilla struggle; it is not simply a struggle of guerrilla detachments supported by the masses, one in which the masses do not participate with their own organizations, as was the case in Cuba. The experience of South Vietnam can be seen by the whole world, not only by the political leaders. It can be seen every day in cable dispatches, photographs, newspaper articles. It can be seen in the commentaries made by the people on the street, at work, at home. Very striking and revealing is the contrast between the opinion of high United States officials and their spokesmen, who consider this war to be extremely complicated, confused, and murky, and that of the man on the street in Latin

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America—and in the rest of the world—who sees it as very simple, elemental, and clear. He knows that it is not arms or military power, but men by themselves who make the ultimate decisions. It is not difficult for him to understand how the Vietnamese people, using the means at hand—the most important of which is their spirit and not their material resources—can fight to a standstill vastly superior military forces.

The new line of development of the Latin American guerrillas, still in embryo but already with distinct features, coincides with the logic of the development of the war of the masses in Vietnam in a fundamental manner: it makes all high-level agreements irrelevant, due to the forces that exert pressure from below.

In actual fact, *Visión* and its counterparts are calling attention to this reality. And some tend to tip the scales more sharply: they call for a negotiated withdrawal from Vietnam in order to concentrate on Latin America before we have an immense Vietnam at our doorstep. But to leave Vietnam, under whatever agreement, also means to establish a precedent and to stimulate that very "Vietnamization" of Latin America. There is no way in sight of avoiding the horns of this dilemma.

Until a very short while ago, all these same news commentators were proclaiming the retreat of *fidelista* influence in Latin America. A few months ago a notice from the United States secret services set the record straight: the danger was not from the Communists, nor even from the *fidelistas,* but from the nationalist and anti-imperialist revolutionary movements which are marching toward socialism. Now the American powers that be are feeling the guerrilla wind that is blowing across Latin America—a wind that comes from no known source, and which seems to them as confused and shadowy as the war lacking both a front and a rear in South Vietnam. For the people of these countries, on the other hand, the situation is as clear and simple as is that same war. It is enough to talk to the people of any country of Latin America to realize this. And for this reason the wind—whose force is ideology *and* nerve—will blow ever more strongly.

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WAR AND THE U.S. ECONOMY

Earlier this year nearly all observers of the United States economic scene agreed that there would be a general leveling off or decline before the end of the year. Actually, the boom has continued. Why?

The answer is contained in a recent dispatch by M. J. Rossant, a financial reporter for the *New York Times*. Since the dispatch was written while the Times was on strike, few of the paper's regular readers will have seen it. We reproduce the relevant passages from the Toronto *Globe and Mail* of September 28th. The headline is "U.S. NEAR SLUMP, THEN VIETNAM SAVES THE DAY."—*The Editors.*

It was a close call. Little by little it has become clear that the longest peacetime expansion in U.S. history was in danger of petering out until the escalation of the war in Vietnam gave it a new lease on life.

President Lyndon Johnson's administration is not admitting that the boom came within a breath or two of expiring. But it has let slip a revealing hint or two. The latest batch of economic statistics confirms that activity has slowed and that a prolonged pause, if not a serious decline, was in the making before Vietnam changed the situation.

The August figures, the latest available, show that after rising sharply in the first two thirds of the year the Federal Reserve's index of industrial production levelled off. At the same time, housing starts and orders of durable goods declined.

Without the recent step-up in military spending, which also boosted business confidence, the slowdown in August would have been much more noticeable. It could have marked the beginning of the end of the expansion. Business spending, which now is climbing, could have slipped. And production might have fallen further as consumers curbed their appetites.

Even with the stimulus of additional spending, business activity will be advancing at a slower rate than it did earlier. But the pause in August now appears to be a catching of breath before going on, more leisurely, to new heights.

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The pause emphasizes, however, that the Johnson administration's confident predictions and careful plans were in jeopardy.

Then came the decision to escalate, which had nothing to do with the state of the economy and was completely unexpected by the President's economic advisers. It provided just enough lift to business—and to investor confidence—to keep the expansion going.

The Vietnam boost also makes clear that both sides in the celebrated economic debate that unnerved Wall Street and enlivened newspapers last spring were in the wrong.

Federal Reserve chairman William McChesney Martin Jr. was off-base in suggesting that the accelerating pace of the expansion was similar to the 1929 period and that an unsustainable boom might be followed by a bust. Clearly, the real peril was that the boom might simply fade away.

But the Johnson administration was just as much at fault for insisting that things were good and would get better. Mr. Johnson, supported by a chorus composed of Treasury Secretary Henry H. Fowler, Commerce Secretary John T. Connor, and the Council of Economic Advisers' Gardner Ackley, failed to recognize that the hectic activity registered in the early months of the year, when the auto industry was catching up with demand caused by work stoppages and the steel industry was speeding up in anticipation of a strike, could not last.

Because Mr. Martin's worry was misplaced and the administration refused to concede that it had any worries, the chances of avoiding a slowdown were not good. . . .

The Vietnamese escalation was timed perfectly. It permitted the administration to apply the necessary stimulation without confessing its fallibility.

What is happening in Vietnam is sickening, and is bound to make the U.S.A. a deeply hated nation in Asia for decades to come.

—*The Economic Weekly* (Bombay, India)
June 19, 1965

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WORLD EVENTS

By Scott Nearing

Watchman, What of the Night?

The night is dark and perilous for capitalist imperialism.

Daydreamers, picturing an American Century of world domination stretching indefinitely into the future, were plentiful in 1945. "The enemy" had been decimated. Japan was defeated, its empire dismembered and its homeland militarily occupied by Washington's armed forces. All of the European empires were suffering from war exhaustion, bankruptcy, and colonial insurrection. The Soviet Union, with its socialist challenge to monopoly capitalism, had been devastated by invading armies. American Century advocates looked forward eagerly and confidently to a blissful period of unquestioned world supremacy.

Twenty years later, in 1965, the situation has been revolutionized. Spectacular postwar advances in science and technology have greatly extended man's control over natural and social forces, ushering in an era of possible plenty for all and perhaps also of world peace. Self-help (plus American help) has stabilized the economies of Western and Central Europe. Bitter war experiences since 1914 have led great segments of the human race to turn their backs on 19th-century monopoly capitalism and move toward 20th-century socialism.

The movement toward socialism has made giant strides in Asia, outstanding advances in Europe, and some progress in Africa. In the Americas it has hardly got off the ground. The greatest single obstacle in its path is the industrial-political-public-relations oligarchy which rules the United States of North America.

Humanity, in 1965, finds its plans in disarray and its hopes frustrated by an overriding, planet-wide confrontation: the revolutionary advances toward socialism, made possible by sci-

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ence and technology, versus the stubborn determination of the United States oligarchy to preserve its scarcity-oriented economy and its obsolete system of private-profiteering enterprise.

As matters stand in the autumn of 1965, the United States oligarchy has its two hundred million subjects well in hand. This was made clear in the 1964 elections when more than 99 percent of the voters cast their ballots for avowed opponents of socialism and ardent supporters of monopoly captalism. There are protests and defections in the United States, but no organized political opposition to the oligarchy.

Abroad, the situation is uneven. United States economic and political forces control most of the Western Hemisphere. Twenty years ago, war-shattered Western Europe was in Washington's bag, while Eastern Europe was increasingly socialist. Today, although United States armed forces occupy the land of Western and Central Europe and United States sea and air forces patrol the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, Western Europe, under De Gaulle's leadership (and with West German connivance), is resisting and rejecting United States leadership. Eastern Europe is effectively socialist. Africa, split seven ways, is largely independent politically, but economically it is on the teeter-board. Asia has been going socialist rapidly since 1947. This is the most stupendous development of the past 18 years because it involves more than half of the human race.

It is Asia that presents the chief obstacle to United States imperialist ambitions. It is Asia that has most definitely expelled the imperialists. It is in Asia that socialism is making its most spectacular and aggressive advances. It is on Asia that United States foreign policy is concentrating. Thirty years ago, Japan was America's Asian bull's eye. After 1945 it was China. Fifteen years ago Korea was the point of attack. Today it is Southeast Asia. The "Communist Menace" provides the cutting edge of Washington's aggressive propaganda against Asian self-determination. The purpose of the drive is to persuade or compel Asians to play their assigned role in the American Century program.

Can Asians keep their imperialist enemy at bay, or will the "island hopping" which gave Washington control of the Pacific be followed by a "nation hopping" program that will bring one

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Asian nation after another under the American Century yoke?

Consideration of this problem leads to three further questions: (1) Can Asians, and perhaps Africans, make common "Bandung" cause against the common North American enemy, with its European pack of ex-Asian-African colonizers unleashed and ready for the kill? (2) If the "Bandung" nations do make common cause, will the confrontation lead to an expensive, exhausting land war in Asia? (3) Can Washington, with its few available allies, including the ruling class fragments ousted from Asia's socialist countries, win such a war?

Watchman, what of the night?

The night is dark and perilous for capitalist imperialism. It is stormy and jet-black for the American Century. The dawn may bring world-wide socialism, or, in the course of a general nuclear war, it may witness the decimation or annihilation of man on Planet Earth.

British Guiana Gets Big Money

After two decades of struggle, British Guiana is within sight of political "independence" and permanent economic bondage. Occupying 83,000 square miles of largely undeveloped South American land fronting on the Caribbean, the Crown Colony of British Guiana has been torn by class war and racial strife since war's end in 1945.

British Guiana is British politically. The Governor, appointed by the London government, with veto power over Guianese affairs, is British. Occupying military forces are British. Foreign capital invested in the colony is chiefly British. The Guianese people are largely of Asian or African descent.

Like many other colonial peoples in the postwar era of independence movements, the Guianese began a campaign for self-determination, represented politically by the People's Progressive Party. The Party's leader was a Guianese-born, United States-educated descendant of Asian stock, Dr. Cheddi Jagan.

Jagan was convinced that socialism was the answer to the poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, and colonial backwardness from which Guiana had suffered under the yoke of British imperialism. Jagan was a constitutional socialist, advocating a campaign of public education that would arouse and encourage

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the Guianese to go to the ballot-box, elect socialist representatives, and through their control of the government establish socialism gradually and legally.

Such programs were a dime a dozen fifty years ago. They gained political expression through democratic-socialist parties in the European centers of 19th-century imperialism as well as in the planet-wide colonial system which European imperialists had established. The People's Progressive Party won its first election in 1953 and organized a constitutional government with Cheddi Jagan as its Prime Minister. (For details, read *The Ordeal of British Guiana* by Philip Reno, MR Press, 1964.)

Then troubles began. The chief one was the United States of North America. Washington had no territorial claim on Guiana. United States investors were only incidentally interested in the colony. But the Caribbean area was the sea approach to the Panama Canal; its waters were patrolled by United States warships, its shores were studded with United States military bases, and United States trade and investment were spreading.

The Truman Anti-Communist Doctrine, formulated in 1947 to permit United States intervention in the internal affairs of Greece and Turkey, was even more applicable in the Caribbean. The doctrine read: Communism (socialism) will not be permitted to extend its influence by subversion from within or invasion from outside any nation, anywhere, especially in Latin America.

The Cuban Revolution, boiling up in the Caribbean, gave added importance to the Truman Doctrine. The People's Progressive Party of Guiana might win elections and set up governments but, like parallel movements in Brazil, the Dominican Republic, Bolivia, and Chili, under the Truman Doctrine it would not be permitted to organize a socialist society in the Western Hemisphere.

The PPP had ambitious plans for Guiana. Realization of these plans required capital. In vain Cheddi Jagan shopped around in Britain, the United States, Canada. No money was forthcoming.

After a heart-breaking struggle to survive and improve the country, the PPP government was driven from office by a

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Washington-London-hatched conspiracy and replaced by a government acceptable to United States and British business interests. The political storms and racial struggles, directed for years against Jagan's regime, cleared up over night.

On my desk is a September 8, 1965, newsletter from Forbes Burnham, the anti-Jagan Prime Minister of British Guiana. Its first item: "The Guiana Government is launching a $3.7 million Corporation to provide for the rapid expansion of peasant cane farming in this country. Finance is being provided by the Commonwealth Development Corporation, Barclay's Overseas Development Corporation, and the Royal Bank of Canada."

'Nuf said. Jagan's democratic socialist program aroused no enthusiasm in Big Business circles. Burnham's democratic capitalist program has loosened Big Business purse strings. Now every effort will be made to build up British Guiana as a showpiece of capitalist enterprise.

Wasters and Savers

Hotel bathrooms often provide two bath towels and several hand towels. Should a guest use them all? Or should he towel himself with the least possible number? The answer to this question has occupied generations of economists.

Those who advocate using all of the towels argue that the more towels you use, the more work you make for the hotel personnel. The more often towels go to the laundry, the more work for the washing machines and laundrymen. The more often towels go to the laundry, the sooner they wear out (along with the washing machines), thus increasing demands on textile and machine factories. Manufacturing more towels and washing machines increases the demand for cotton, for textile machinery, and washing units. More use means more demand, more work, more wages, more profits, greater prosperity.

Arguments for saving follow a different pattern. Means of satisfying human wants are limited by natural resources, machinery, labor power. With a given level of productive efficiency, the less we use, the less wear and tear on resources and machines and the greater the leisure enjoyed by workers.

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True economy results not from producing as much as possible but from producing as little as necessary. The less, the better—provided consumer needs are satisfied.

I learned these arguments in an elementary economics class more than half a century ago. They were recalled by an article from Hong Kong which appeared in the *Los Angeles Times* some months ago under the headline: "Rags, Bottles: Red Chinese Philosophy: Use, Re-Use."

Ed Meager, the author, noted that discussion groups in Communist China were considering the question: "Should used bottles be re-used after the national economy has made an all-around improvement?" This problem was raised by a public campaign to promote economy and frugality among the Chinese people.

"The proper answer, of course," Meager wrote, "is that bottles should be collected and re-used and, also, similar economies should be diligently practiced in all other possible ways."

Foreign-language students in Shanghai's Wannan University had responded by economizing "on every drop of water and unit of electricity. By washing white clothes first they make do with a single basin of water for the entire wash. By huddling together to study they get by with only one light. They no longer make demands on the university's maintenance department or carpentry shop for routine repairs, but take on these jobs themselves in their spare time."

Through such means, the article notes, the Shanghai students are proving that "the serious practice of economy would enable youths to cultivate the style of leading a hard and frugal life and to resist better the influence of bourgeois ideology." In a private-enterprise economy operated to make profits, prosperity grows with the volume of production and sales.

China's economy is not operated for profit. Its declared purpose is to raise the level of well-being of the entire population. If China's economy is well planned and efficiently administered, a reduction in waste should increase the total of goods and services available for China's consumers. In such an economy the saver is more important than the spender and waster.

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GERT AND MR

BY PAUL M. SWEEZY

Many knew Gert longer than I did, and more than a few knew her better and more intimately. But only Leo knows more about her role in MONTHLY REVIEW, which in a very real sense has been the center of all three of our lives for the past seventeen years.

I don't remember when I first met Gert, or Leo either for that matter. I went to the London School of Economics in 1932-1933, and Leo studied there the next year. We had many of the same teachers and friends, and I think it was our mutual associates in England who first brought us together. In any case I had certainly visited the charming apartment at 66 Barrow Street which so many of you know so well, and I had certainly made Gert's acquaintance before the end of the 30's. Wartime activities took us in different directions, and we got together again only when people began to resume normal activities in the winter of 1945-1946. My recollection is that Leo's little book *The Truth About Unions* came out about that time, and that when I read it I wrote him an enthusiastic note ending with the suggestion that he do a similar book to be called *The Truth About Socialism*. He liked the idea. We corresponded about it, got together once or twice when I happened to be visiting New York, and in this way re-established our interrupted friendship. One result was an invitation from Leo and Gert to come to Martha's Vineyard for a week during the summer of 1946 to stay in the little cabin they had recently acquired along with their summer house. That was my first introduction to the Vineyard and to what we later came to call "socialist hill" when Sarah Greenebaum moved into the house next door with its garage and shop, all the buildings together forming a sort of cooperative from which one could look down

This is the text of a talk at the funeral service for Gertrude Huberman, September 19, 1965.

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on Menemsha Basin immediately below and on Menemsha Pond stretching out to the southwest. And it was during that visit in the summer of 1946 that I began to feel really close to Gert and Leo and Sybil and Sarah. Every summer since then I, and usually most of my family, have spent at least a few days, and sometimes as much as the whole summer, in Menemsha. I shall always be grateful that even before we knew that Gert was seriously ill, we made arrangements to spend the last three weeks of August of this summer in Menemsha. One could not do much, but I at any rate was glad to be near at hand. And one of my cherished memories will always be the farewell party for Yip Harburg on August 14, just before he left for California. Gert was there, one of her last parties, smiling and cheerful. It was easy to have the illusion for a few hours that she was on the mend. Yip sang her favorite songs, with Judy Rubin accompanying on the piano, just as it should be. Alas, with Gert gone it will never be possible to have quite such another evening.

From 1946 on, Leo and I talked more and more about the need for a magazine which would be socialist not only in name but also in content. I do not need to go over the story, familiar to many of you, of how the necessary initial financing was made available and how, after many months of exploration and preparation, the first issue was mailed out to a list of some 400 subscribers in May of 1949. What I do want to stress is a fact which is probably known to only a few of you, that from the very first day Gert was as much a part of the *MR* enterprise as Leo and I were.

In order to explain Gert's special, and crucially important, contribution to *MR* I must go back a moment and review her previous job experience. As most of you know, she was the youngest of 12 children; when she was three years old, her family emigrated from Russia to the United States and settled in Newark. Gert went to the public schools there, aiming at a teaching career and graduating from Newark Normal School in 1922. For the next few years she taught in the Jersey public schools. But in 1929 she decided to give up commuting to work and took an office job with the League for Industrial Democracy. Soon after, the bookkeeper's job fell vacant and she was persuaded, despite the fact that she had had no previous experi-

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ence of that sort, to step into the vacancy. She learned the exacting art of bookkeeping the hard way, from actual experience on the job, and she learned it well. By the time she left the L.I.D. in 1933 she was in every sense a professional of the highest competence. Later on, during the New Deal period, she acquired further valuable experience as supervisor of nursery school education on Long Island for the WPA.

When *MR* was started Gert was the only one of us with any office and managerial experience, and I can assure you that her knowledge and talents were priceless assets to the enterprise, especially in the early years. She participated in all the preliminary planning, set up the books and records, and for a long time did most of the work connected with the subscription list, from receiving new subs to mailing out the successive issues of the magazine. I won't say *MR* would have been impossible without Gert. Perhaps some other solutions for these many, many problems would have been found. But I will say that I can't imagine what they would have been, and that I can easily imagine that the whole thing would have foundered if her sure and steady hand had been removed.

You musn't for a minute suppose that Gert's role in *MR*'s development was limited to doing a large part of its most exacting work. Beyond that, there was what she had to put up with! In the issue of November, 1951, we wrote: "The small three-room apartment of one of the editors (in other words Leo's and Gert's home at 66 Barrow Street) which has also been serving as *MR*'s office finally got so jammed up with books, pamphlets, magazines, supplies, and the like that it became almost impossible to get to the stove to fry an egg. So *MR* just *had* to acquire a home of its own." That was just after we had moved to an office. But note well that it was also *two and a half years* after Volume 1, Number 1. During that whole period Gert, who was a most meticulous and careful housekeeper, had to live in the midst of the accumulating clutter and the never-ceasing coming and going. And I mean never ceasing: even the magazines were put in their envelopes and trucked to the post office in shopping carts from her fourth-floor apartment. As I look back, I am amazed that she permitted it *and* kept her sanity.

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Nor was that all she had to put up with. During more than the first decade of *MR*'s existence, I lived in either New Hampshire or Massachusetts, and commuted once a month to New York, staying anywhere from two to five days depending on how much work there was to be done. And I almost always stayed at 66 Barrow Street. Partly this was to save on expenses, but more important it was because that way editorial "conferences" could start at breakfast and last until 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning, and being separated most of the month, Leo and I needed every moment we could get. For Gert, however, it meant having someone sleeping on the living room couch several days every month and often being in effect confined to her own bedroom when the living room was being used as an office or conference room. Once again, as I look back I am amazed. She must have resented this kind of interference with her household and her life, and I suppose she must have complained from time to time—not to have done so would have been less than human. But she never complained to me. On the contrary, she always made me feel welcome and comfortable, so that as long as I lived outside the New York area I always eagerly looked forward to the monthly trips.

I could recount a thousand anecdotes of those years if there were time. I will confine myself to one. For a long time after Fidel Castro's conquest of power in Cuba, Leo and I did not know how to interpret the Revolution. Finally we decided to go and see for ourselves, which we did in March of 1960. In three exciting, hectic weeks we traveled all over the island and collected notebooks of observations and packing cases of literature. In order to digest and give shape to all this material, we left the city immediately on our return and retired semi-incommunicado to New Hampshire, where we stayed working day and night for six weeks to complete our book *Cuba: Anatomy of a Revolution*. Gert did not come with us, but soon after we got to the country she came down with a nasty cold which she couldn't shake. A rest in the country seemed indicated, and we invited her to join us. I remember well the misgivings I felt. We were completely preoccupied; there was nothing to do. Wouldn't she be bored and miserable, and wouldn't her discontent upset everything? Never were fears less justified. Gert

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adored the New Hampshire spring, explored the surrounding country on foot, read a great deal, did her share of the little housekeeping that was necessary, and rested to her heart's content. She had enough to do to fill every day, and she was thoroughly content. Far from being hampered, our work went better and smoother while she was there. And always after that —the last time was just before the end of August—Gert would recall with pleasure those spring days in the New Hampshire countryside.

In conclusion, let me say a word about Gert's relation to the politics and ideology of *MR*. Her concern was people, not doctrines or theories; and much that went into the magazine interested her only mildly. But for all that she was completely in accord with the aims and purposes to which *MR* has always been dedicated. If she hadn't been, she could not have been the completely integral part of the enterprise she was. And her socialism, even though it was seldom proclaimed and never argued about, was an inseparable aspect of her personality. She didn't need to be convinced by elaborate arguments that capitalism is a barbarous society, unworthy of human beings. She could see it every day of her life. And rather than asserting her socialism, she lived it—in her modesty, her concern for people, her refined tastes, her instinctive devotion to civilized values. Would that more socialists were like Gertrude Huberman.

ON PAUL BARAN'S POLITICAL ECONOMY OF GROWTH

BY MICHAL KALECKI

The following note was written for MR's memorial issue to Paul Baran (March 1965) but arrived too late to be included. Michal Kalecki

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is the famous Polish economist who, in Joan Robinson's words, "discovered the *General Theory* [of Keynes] independently."—*The Editors*

This book is certainly the most important of Paul Baran's contributions to the social sciences. I think the title is somewhat misleading because it may suggest that this is a treatise on the purely economic theory of growth. Although the book contains elements of such a theory, this is not its main subject. It is an analysis of the social and economic forces behind the process of development rather than a specific explanation of the mechanism of economic growth.

Not that it does not contain very valuable material in the field of economic theory in the strict sense: I find, for instance, most illuminating the treatment of innovations as the mainspring of capitalist development and the emphasis on the weakening of this development factor in the phase of monopoly capitalism. However, the most important and original contribution of the book is certainly the characterization of various economic systems by the way in which the economic surplus is generated and utilized.

Baran distinguishes between the potential and the actual economic surplus, but he does not by any means limit the discussion to the discrepancy of these two values which makes for an underutilization of existing resources. This focal point of the economic discussion in the last thirty years, generated by the great depression of the 1930's, accounts for only a part of his argument. He goes far beyond that and concentrates his attention on *how* the economic surplus is being utilized even if it is utilized more or less to the full. And indeed some of the most brilliant pages of his book are devoted to the analysis of the assimilation of the New Deal ideas by monopoly capitalism. From all alternatives of "filling the gap in effective demand" there emerges as acceptable to the ruling class only that which is most absurd and perverse: the manufacturing of the weapons of destruction as a means of keeping the economy going and enabling people to earn their livelihood.

In underdeveloped countries the appropriation of the economic surplus by foreign capital or its absorption by nonessential consumption of the parasitic upper classes is emphasized, the

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repercussions being a low level of investment and slow economic growth.

But whether a developed or an underdeveloped capitalist country is analyzed, the discussion is never confined to the purely economic impact of the generation and utilization of the economic surplus. It is penetratingly shown how this basic characteristic of the economic system determines its whole social fabric. Indeed the book is a pioneer performance in the classification of social systems and their stages of development according to this characteristic. And as an outcome of the analysis socialism emerges as a system which makes possible a full and rational utilization of the economic surplus for the benefit of the present and future consumption of the working population.

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(*continued from inside front cover*)

We have one further suggestion to make as a way of solving your gift problem. If you give a new sub to one friend, we will send free copies of *Review I* and the double July-August issue containing Anne Braden's analysis of the Southern freedom movement to another friend or one to one address and the other to another address. Further details on back cover. Our readers have written some good advertising copy to go along with this offer. For a subscription, we quote from a recent letter from our good friend Stephen Fritchman, pastor of the famous Los Angeles Unitarian Church: "Keep up the great work of the best magazine that crosses my doorstep—and I take 30 a month!" And for the double summer issue, the following from a Canadian labor organizer: " 'If it's by Anne Braden, it must be good.' And indeed it is; I like it very much."

A letter from a Japanese student in this country expresses sadness over United States policy in Vietnam and adds that the "worst thing is that the American people do not know how the American government is doing wrong." Accompanying this is an order for 35 copies of "The Road to Ruin," the reprint of MR's Review of the Month for March, 1965, analyzing the background and implications of American policy in Vietnam. This, in the opinion of our Japanese friend, "is the best article I have ever read in English." It has certainly lost none of its relevance in the last seven months—quite the contrary—and we believe that its continued distribution can be very helpful in bringing about a better understanding of what is really happening in Vietnam. We still have copies available at the following prices: 15 for $1; 35 for $2; 60 for $3; 125 for $5.

Another Japanese student at an American college writes: "I have been rather discouraged to find the 'middle-class ennui' among the American students, but how encouraged have I been in contrast to get to know so many Asian students who are so enthusiastic about the achievements of the Chinese Revolution and North Korean socialism. Now the light comes from the East—'advanced Asia and backward Europe!' This is not a 'yellow backlash'—but I put my hope for the future in Asian humanism, which the 'last Anglo-Saxons' do not seem to possess. There are very few white Americans whom I pay my respect to and share sympathy with as 'family men.' MR's staff are to me in that category of precious minority in this Animal Kingdom." We are proud to be included and hope we continue to deserve the honor.

MR readers sometimes remember the magazine in their wills, a form of recognition we greatly appreciate not only for the material support it provides but for the sincere tribute it implies. The language of such a bequest can be very simple: "I hereby give and bequeath the sum of $..... to Monthly Review, Inc., of 333 Sixth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10014."

Paul Sweezy will speak on the lessons of the Guatemalan Revolution at the Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, on Friday, November 19, at 8:30 p.m. MR readers will be welcome.

Robert A. Manners of Brandeis University opens a review in a recent issue of the *American Anthropologist* (Vol. 67, No. 2) of Gordon Lewis's *Puerto Rico: Freedom and Power in the Caribbean* as follows: "Of all the books written about Puerto Rico during the last 20 years—and students of the Caribbean know that there have been far too many—this one is, in many respects, the best. And even if it isn't the best, it is easily the most readable."

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